[1] Introduction

121 The purpose of my expedition, on which I was accompanied by my wife, Maria Lebzelter-Grammetbauer, was to study the anthropology and ethnology of the native tribes, especially of the Bushmen, as well as the archeology of South Africa. The original plan came from Professor Father Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D.
122 Repeated generous stipends from His Holiness Pope Pius XI made possible the continuation of the expedition, which was fostered with tireless zeal by Father Schmidt. The Austrian Government, by means of special administrative measures, made it possible for me to set out on this journey. Furthermore, the editor of Anthropos, Professor Father W. Koppers, repeatedly lent considerable support to the expeditionary fund. The Research Grant Board in Johannesburg granted me -- although for purely anthropological purposes -- a single subvention of 50 pounds.

114 I have already described the program and execution of my South African expedition in the first volume of this work. Here, before presenting the ethnological results, I should like to portray in rough outline how these results were arrived at. I must state in advance that there was a space of only three weeks between the time when the measures taken by the Austrian authorities made it certain that I could leave my homeland and my actual departure. Hence, a
[122] more detailed study of the native languages was out of the question. The conditions under which a person today can do ethnological field work are fundamentally different from those of the pioneering era.
[797] Through the activity of the missions, there is growing up among all
[177] tribes, except for the Bushmen, a stratum of intelligent individuals who, if not in this generation, certainly in the next, will take over
000 the research among their own people. I recall a lawyer's clerk in Natal (Swazi) who had acquired a pamphlet of ethnological lectures from Johannesburg and had learned it by heart. When he turned to a White ethnologist, in order to begin the practical work, the latter assured him that just as a race horse could not be used for plowing, so an ox could not be used for racing. Meanwhile, however, a number of very creditable works by natives have
115 already appeared in print. In my investigations I have always used native schoolteachers who had a command not only of the

[1 cont.]

115 German or English language, spoken and written, but also of their native tongue in grammar and phonetics.

000 Among the Zulu and Swazi I made my studies more as the occasion arose. Here I was indebted in particular to Father Andreas Ngidi in Inkamana, Princess Maris Dhlamini in Mbabane, and the Italian missionaries in Swaziland for my data. My travels were aided predominantly by the missions. Whereas in the diocese of the Catholic missions of Zululand and Marianhill the main emphasis of the work was upon anthropological and prehistoric matters, in Southwest Africa ethnological studies were the special task of the expedition. Through the kindness of the provicar, Father Schleipen of the Catholic Mission in Windhoek, the schoolteacher Alois Kheibeb was assigned to me, with whose help I came in contact with the old Dama. At the [2] Catholic Mission in Okombahe, Father Bachmann introduced me to the brother of Chief Gottlieb Horeseb, who came with a few other people to tell me stories. In Grootfontein it was Father Jaeger who placed his Dama schoolteacher, Nikolaus Horeseb, at my disposal. I then further succeeded in obtaining a very intelligent !Kung woman, Katiti, who was married to a Hei//om, and this made it possible for me to have verbal contact with the !Kung. In Ovamboland I was able to rely on the generous support of the Finnish Evangelical Mission. Through the help of Mr. Leuch I engaged a respected man from Oshigambo, Erastus Mbumba, who had been a clerk in Swakopmund for 13 years and who spoke superb German. The Bushmen informants in Ovamboland spoke Ovambo. In Epukiro the mission superior, Father Watterott, O.M.J., placed at my disposal the village headman, Franz Arenat, who in turn established contact for me with the Nogau Bushmen. The interpreters have to be paid well. To all those who helped me in my work, I should like at this point to express my heartfelt thanks.

123 In order to achieve genuine success in the ethnological field, it is necessary to gain the confidence and sympathy of the natives and to instill in them the conviction that one has no evil intentions toward them or would want to make them look ridiculous; money alone does not suffice. The relationship between the Whites and Coloreds is of such a kind that the native from the outset faces the White with the greatest distrust. The natives are basically a courteous people, and among themselves they live

/241/

000 Anthropological, Ethnological, and Ethnographic Observations concerning the Heikum and Kung Bushmen (1), with an apdix on the languages of these Bushman Tribes (2).

1. Presented at the session of November 18, 1905 /of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte/.

121 2. The linguistic notes on the language of the Heikum Bushmen were gathered on the Omuramba Omatako, while the linguistic notes concerning the Kung Bushmen were taken down in a Kung settlement on the northern edge of the Kaukau Veld, approximately 15 kilometers west of Dobe.

A stay of several months in the vicinity of a Bushman settlement near Otjomavare, a watering place on the Omuramba ua omatako, about 50 kilometers south of Grootfontein and 120 kilometers northeast of Waterberg, gave me the opportunity to make a series of observations on the Bushmen, which, I believe, in part presents new information and in part complements and confirms what is already known. My first concern was to determine the size of the Bushmen, who are traditionally known as abnormally small, by obtaining absolute measurements. A closer acquaintance with this interesting people then led me to make further investigations that will be of interest to the ethnologist and the ethnographer.

I had to manufacture in part the instruments needed for making the anthropological measurements, but I hope that this circumstance has not diminished the accuracy of the results.

101 The Bushmen concerned call themselves "Heikum" people, a
[194] name in which the 'k' is to be replaced by the click indicated in
124 the Nama language by //. Thirty-one adults and eight children were measured.

Of the adults 14 are men and 17 women.

128 I shall first present the average values of the absolute measurements, and then a number of proportional figures and indices.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THE Peabody Harvard Kalahari Expedition, under the leadership of Laurence K. Marshall, has made four field trips between 1950 and 1955 into the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way, and not working for white farmers or for Negroes. The last of the four expeditions, that of 1955, was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution as well as by the Peabody Museum of Harvard.

Our principal study was made with the /Kung Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The Nyae Nyae region extends about 150 miles north and south, about 100 miles east and west, and is centred approximately at Gautscha Pan, which is located at *c.* 19° 48′ 30″ S. and 20° 34′ 36″ E. on the map of a survey of the area by the Administration of South West Africa dated 7.11.1935. The Nyae Nyae region is separated from the farmed areas of South West Africa by a stretch of waterless, uninhabited country over 100 miles wide.

We chose the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region for concentrated study because they are the least acculturated Bushmen we found.[1] They are non-literate, nomadic hunters and gatherers, with no agriculture or domesticated animals. They are completely self-reliant

[1] On the expeditions we travelled extensively in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The groups of Bushmen we encountered were, in addition to the /Kung of Nyae Nyae, /Kung outside the Nyae Nyae region at Karakuwise, Nuragas, Khadum, and at water holes south of Gum in South West Africa, and at Kai Kai, Kubi and other places along the western border of Bechuanaland, where Chwana and Herero have cattle posts; Makaukau and Nuron near Ghanzi, B. P.; /Kō at Okwa and at Barachu, about 50 and 100 miles south of Ghanzi respectively; /Gikwe about 100 miles south-east of Ghanzi in the trackless sandy plain that lies between Ghanzi and Molepolole, where during the dry season there is no water; and //Ganakwe still farther south, below Chukudu. We studied the kinship terminology of the /Kō and /Gikwe; Professor L. F. Maingard, for a time a member of the 1955 expedition, studied the /Kō language, which has the labial (fifth) click of the southern group.

Professor I. Schapera and Miss D. F. Bleek, in their Bushman studies, record information on these groups. For more data on the various names by which the groups are known and the areas in which they were found and the language groups into which Miss Bleek's studies place them, see especially Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1931, pp. 31 ff., and Bleek, D. F., 'The Distribution of Bushman Languages in South Africa', *Festschrift Meinhof*, pp. 55 ff.

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5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952–3, for six weeks again in 1955.

During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Batwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject of special study. Our investigation of the /Kō and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600 /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, 'It is our custom', but one informant gravely explained that 'God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term 'followed the name'. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

FOREWORD.

The Kalahari is not a sandy desert in the sense that it is devoid of vegetation; it is the absence of surface water which makes the region such a hazard to human habitation. It is the last refuge of the Bushman. Primitive though he is, he survived in this inhospitable environment owing to his acute powers of perception and his fine appreciation of the gifts of nature. He is a skilled hunter with his bow and arrow and has an intimate knowledge of the natural resources of food and water. Dr. Story compliments him by saying that his knowledge was usually imparted cheerfully and with humour and "always with intelligence".

The Division of Botany was grateful to accept the invitation for Dr. Story to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition of 1955. This was the fifth expedition of its kind and had as its objective the further documentation of the way of life of the Bushman. Dr. Story's assignment was to investigate the plants used by them in obtaining food and water.

It is inevitable that, with the advance of civilisation, the remnants of this interesting race will lose its intimate contact with nature and in the end its very identity. Wishing to complete their records before this happens the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody organisation, is, as we go to press, returning on yet another expedition. The Division of Botany is glad of this opportunity to continue the collection of data on the plants of economic importance to the Bushmen in the Kalahari.

The balance in nature between supply and demand is of endless interest to the ecologist. In times of plenty—when vegetation is abundant—the animal population increases: in times of poverty—when the vegetation is reduced by the prevailing climatic conditions—the animal population is reduced by the effects of hunger and thirst. So it is with the primitive human, who is dependent for his survival on the animal and plant life which surrounds him. Overpopulation at any time spells destruction for him at a later date. It is obvious too, that primitive man must have had a strong influence on the distribution and density of edible wild plants. Some will have become more widespread and others less numerous. More and more examples of rare species among the tuberous rooted *Asclepiadaceae* have come to light during the botanical exploration of southern Africa. It is felt that the edibility of these and some other tuberous rooted plants, in a large measure, accounts for their sparse distribution.

Dr. Story's observations support this view, and many other interesting facts are recorded in his preliminary report on the vegetable aspect of the Bushman's diet.

R. A. Dyer,
Chief: Division of Botany and
Director of Botanical Survey.

Pretoria,
October, 1957.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

INTRODUCTION.

Early in 1955 the Chief of the Union Government Division of Botany received a request through the British Museum for a botanist to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition, which in the winter of that year was to make a study of the Bushmen of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa. The duties of the botanist would be to investigate and report upon the plants used by the Bushmen in obtaining food and drink, and this task was assigned to me in my capacity as one of the Botanical Survey Officers of the Division of Botany. 121

I joined the expedition on 10th June at Molepolole, after it had been some weeks in the field, and we thereafter travelled along the route shown on the map, reaching Windhoek on 2nd September. 122

There were two main areas of study, one in the country south of Ghanzi and the other north of Ghanzi. The southern area, part of the Kalahari Desert, was remarkably uniform in every way. The surface was deep loose sand, gently undulating and with occasional shallow depressions of firm dark soil known as pans, which collect a little water after rain. We did not see a hill after leaving Molepolole until the Ghanzi area was reached, nor a stone, except for shelves of limestone in some of the pans. There was no permanent water in the 300 miles between Kudumalapshwe and the Ghanzi farms, but Khungwane waterhole and Khomodimo Pan had not yet dried up. Khungwane held one or two thousand gallons and Khomodimo contained a pond about thirty yards across and a foot or so deep. It provided a home, rather unexpectedly, for a coot (*Fulica cristata*) and a water-scorpion (one of the *Nepidae*). There are no records of the central Kalahari rainfall, but it would be between 18·5 and 19·6 inches, which are the mean annual figures for Ghanzi and Molepolole respectively. In spite of this low rainfall, and although we were there in the dry season, we found that the sand a few inches below the surface and down to at least three feet was damp enough to retain its form when squeezed in the hand. One specimen of a species of Breviceps was found in the sand, a small burrowing frog which does not swim or jump and which passes through its tadpole stage in a mass of frothy material which surrounds the eggs. The commonest animals were the rodents whose burrows and tracks were in thousands along our route. The game included gemsbok, springbok, hartebees, eland, blue wildebees, giraffe and smaller antelopes and hares. Of the carnivora, lions, leopards, wild dogs, jackals and hyaenas were present. Ostriches and bustards were seen and occasional small birds of various species, but birds were on the whole poorly represented. The vegetation was mainly grassland, usually about four feet tall and mixed with many shrubs a little taller. Trees were seldom absent for more than a few miles at a stretch, and were scattered to form a parkland or in belts thick enough to hamper the progress of our lorries through them. 133 [134] [312] [136] [132] 136 137x

The northern area was much more varied, with the undulations sometimes forming distinct rises and dales. Hills, however, were still absent, although there were occasional outcrops of limestone and other rock. The soils were for the most part fairly firm, but sandy nevertheless, and damp below the surface. From time to time we crossed zones of purer loose sand, slightly raised above the surrounding country and known as dunes. A number of permanent waterholes, groups of large pans and a rainfall estimated to be about 20 inches a year (Department of Transport 1953) made this area better watered than the Kalahari, and better wooded. 133 [134] [132] 137x

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The */Nu-//ĕin* and *//Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *ǂAo-//ĕin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich eggshells are used for carrying and storing water and for the manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time form the most important article of barter among the */Nu-//ĕin, Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-//om*. Among the most northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

all our food and water, gasoline, and equipment in supplies to last us for several months. We crossed great drought areas, once crossing four hundred miles of the central desert of Bechuanaland where there was no water at all, and once traveling every day for two weeks into an unmapped part of the desert of South-West Africa, close to the Bechuanaland border, where we found a waterhole and refilled our empty drums. All this was for the purpose of filming and studying the life and customs of the people of the Kalahari, who are called the Bushmen.

Bushmen are a naked, hungry people, slight of build and yellow-skinned; the only feature they have in common with their large-boned, darker-skinned neighbors, the Negro or Bantu tribes living at the edges of the Bushmen's territory, is their peppercorn curly hair. Otherwise, Bushmen are very like the Asian peoples, often having Mongolian eyefolds and rather broad, flat faces with almost no noses at all. Because of the dust, perspiration, and the blazing sun, their skins darken to a copper brown, but under their arms where sweat has washed the dust away the yellow skin shows. Bushman babies, in fact, are born pale pink, often with a dark, pigmented area at the base of their spines which Kung Bushmen call "the jar"—because, they say, the mother carries her baby and her water jar together in the pouch of her garment—but which we know as the Mongolian Spot.

Physically, the Bushmen are a handsome people, though short of stature—a man being a few inches over and a woman a few inches under five feet—and a little swaybacked of carriage, which makes their bellies stick out. They are handsome because of the extreme grace in their way of moving, which is strong and deft and lithe; and to watch a Bushman walking or simply picking up something from the ground is like

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1]

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection.

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died.

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

/KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS[1]

LORNA MARSHALL

MY purpose in this paper is to describe some of the religious beliefs held currently by the /Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. I shall limit the paper to a description of their concepts of the gods, the problem of evil, supplication, the spirits of the dead, and the ceremonial curing dance, but leave for another paper a more detailed account of medicine men, how they become medicine men, and more about their practices and beliefs. We gathered the information which I present principally on our expeditions of 1952–3 and 1955.

Schapera traces considerable borrowing in the past by the Bushmen from Hottentots and Bergdama.[2] I did not have opportunity to trace, to any significant extent, possible present-day borrowing or exchange of ideas, and can only report that contact, and therefore opportunity for exchange, takes place between the interior bands of /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region and the Tswana and Herero on the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung have contact also, but much less frequently, with Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south and through them to some extent with Naron in the Ghanzi region of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae occasionally see /Kung to the north of their region, who in turn see the Okavango and Ovambo tribes. Although the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not enough contact with white people before we came to absorb any Christian ideas directly from them, and no Christian missionary has been in the interior of the region, an influence of Christianity cannot be precluded because the Tswana do have contact with Christianity. Our own highly valued interpreter, Kernel Ledimo, who grew up near the border and spoke Bushman from his childhood, had been educated in an Anglican mission school. Although there has been contact with people who have Christian ideas, I do not recognize with certainty any Christian elements among /Kung beliefs.

One is left to wonder if the change in the concept of the nature of the gods, particularly in that of the great god, which appears when one compares the old tales with current concepts, was brought about entirely by the philosophical and logical powers of the /Kung themselves and by their adjustment to emotional needs, or whether influences from without played some part. I hope that the research of others may throw light on this point.

I should like to mention a few of the well-known Bushman beliefs, recorded in the past, which the present Nyae Nyae /Kung do *not* have and then proceed to a more systematic description of beliefs which they hold at present.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung have various beliefs and lore about the sun and moon, Canopus, the Pleiades, and other stars, and they have the well-known myth of the moon and the hare; but they do not attribute active divinity to the heavenly bodies, which are 'just stars', they say in effect, and we did not find that they either fear

[1] We are grateful for a grant towards the publication of this long article.

[2] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, London: Routledge, 1930. Reference is particularly to chapter vii.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Marshall shows how specific customs reflect the dominant quest for water, and she portrays the feeling of Bushman culture as well as providing an ethnologist's construct. In this configurational model focusing on ethos, she indicates how derived themes or postulates, such as the stress on cooperation, relate to the most basic theme. Comparison of the !Kung Bushmen with the Mbuti Pygmies, the other foraging group represented in this book, reveals that even though these groups occupy very different habitats some features of their cultures are similar. These include not only elements of technology, for example, the use of poisoned arrows, but themes such as the stress on cooperation and the minimizing of intragroup conflicts, features that are a functional requisite for the close, face-to-face relationships in a foraging band. Thus a study of the Bushmen offers insight into what may be minimal and hence universal features of the foraging band as a culture type.

Bushman culture is also of interest to those concerned with African culture history, for archaeological remains of societies with a similar material culture have been discovered scattered over a much wider region of the eastern part of the continent than the Bushmen now occupy. Many anthropologists feel that the bearers of these early cultures were Bushmen, or Bushmanlike in racial type. An understanding of Bushman culture gives us insight into the cultural and behavioral setting to which the mute artifacts may have belonged.

about the author

Lorna Marshall lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and, with members of her family, has conducted several expeditions to the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa (1951, 1952–1953, 1955, 1959, 1961), of Bechuanaland Protectorate (1955, 1961), and of southeast Angola (1959). She received her M.A. from Radcliffe College in 1928. Her writings include "The Kin Terminology System of the !Kung Bushmen" (1957), "N!ow" (1957), "Marriage among the !Kung Bushmen" (1959), "!Kung Bushman Bands" (1960), "Sharing, Talking and Giving: Relief of Social Tensions among !Kung Bushmen" (1961), and "!Kung Bushman Religious Beliefs" (1962).

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

(3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

(4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into categories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

(5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

(6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

(7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy.

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts.

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband step-brother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself.

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty.

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees.

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people

114 manifested by a virtual absence of sociological research among the Bushmen during the 1930's and 40's.

It was not until the 1950's that it became apparent that Schapera's obituary on the Bushmen was premature. We owe this realization to the recent research and writing of Mr. and Mrs. Laurence K. Marshall and Professor Phillip V. Tobias. The Marshalls began their investigations of Bushman life in 1951. [161] In the interior of the northwestern Kalahari they found over 1,000 Bushmen organized into hunting and gathering bands. This was, and is, a full-scale viable way of life of a type that was believed no longer to exist. Professor Tobias, after visiting the Kalahari with the Panhard-Capricorn Expedition of 1950, was led to believe that the numbers of surviving Bushmen had [161] been vastly underestimated. His subsequent research (1956, 1957) showed that there were over 50,000 living Bushmen and that thousands of the Bushmen were living as hunter-gatherers.

• [121] Due to the stimulus of the Marshalls and Tobias, anthropologists realized that excellent research opportunities among the Bushmen had been overlooked, simply because of the mistaken notion that the hunting and gathering way of life had ceased to 121 exist. Thus in recent years the style of Bushman research has been transformed from a salvage operation to the study of viable ongoing social and economic systems; and with the acquisition of new data has come a basic reorientation of our

121 view of the Bushmen. The present study is a contribution to this reorientation and, as such, has implications, not only for Bushman studies, but for the study of hunters and gatherers in general.

The study of subsistence ecology focusses attention on those aspects of the man/environment relation which pertain to the getting of food. Since there are populations of Bushmen available which still maintain a full-time, year-round, hunting and gathering way of life, an investigation of subsistence ecology can be founded on a firm empirical basis. The investigator does not have to rely on the memory of informants concerning conditions no longer in existence.

121 114 191 Another recent study - of the subsistence activities of Australian aborigines in Arnhem Land (McCarthy and McArthur 1960) - offers an instructive contrast to the present study. Both studies are concerned with the subsistence ecology of hunter-gatherers. The difference lies in the fact that the Australian groups studied spent the greater part of each year living on mission stations where they ate European foods. Consequently, the Australian scientists could observe traditional food getting for two week periods that were bracketed by periods of residence on the mission stations. The Bushman study, on the other hand, is a continuous record of hunting and gathering activities extending over a fifteen month period. The Dobe area 121 222 224 Bushmen were hunting and gathering for the simple reason that

121 there was no viable alternative locally available to them.
222
224 The presence of these conditions has made it possible not only to observe ongoing subsistence behavior, but also to attempt to understand the dynamics and the underlying rationale of hunting and gathering as a total way of life.

R.B.L.

Cambridge Mass.,
July 1965.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

I. INTRODUCTION

121 114 122 This dissertation is a report on the results of a field investigation of Kalahari Bushmen in 1963-64. The research was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation 121 entitled: Studies in the Evolution of Human Behavior. The section of the research proposal devoted to Bushmen outlined five major areas of investigation:

1. Census
2. Demography
3. Subsistence
4. Social organization
5. Settlement patterns

The data obtained in the areas of census and subsistence are presented here. Further data on demography, social organization and settlement patterns are summarized here and will be expanded in subsequent publications.

The Bushman research project was conceived to answer a need on the part of archeologists and other students of human evolution for accurate, quantitative information on the subsistence and society of a contemporary hunting and gathering people. It was hoped that such a study would generate new insights on cultural evolution and aid in the task of interpreting archeological materials. The primary task was to define the properties of a hunting and gathering way of life.

• 121 This statement was then to be employed as a basis for comparison with other living hunting and gathering societies and the generalizations so derived were to be used as a baseline for the reconstruction of the properties of societies and economies of earlier populations of man.

Of the three stages in this research scheme, description, comparison and reconstruction, only the first stage is presented in this dissertation viz the description of the subsistence of one hunting and gathering people.

The Kalahari Bushman study began in August 1963, when Irven DeVore and the author made a reconnaissance of the northern Kalahari Desert to look for a suitable study site. The research goals required a population as isolated and traditionally oriented as possible. Three locations were considered (see Map 1).

1. The Bushman Native Reserve, South West Africa
2. The Central Kalahari Game Reserve, Bechuanaland
3. Northwestern Ngamiland

[114] South West Africa proved to be out of the question. For political reasons foreign scientists are not being permitted to work among the indigenous peoples. The British colonial government of Bechuanaland, on the other hand, has encouraged social scientists from abroad to come and work among the tribes. Our decision to work in northwestern Ngamiland was dictated by the fact that a government-appointed anthropologist

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4]

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

161 312 621 224 222 648 In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were organized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non-Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

131 Since the Nyae Nyae peoples are closely linked genealogically to
133 the peoples of /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa, and since their
312 several territories are surrounded by an uninhabited belt
619 60-100 miles in width, it seems more useful to include all the central water sources under the term "interior" and consider all the other river dwelling and farm !Kung as peripheral (see Map 7, p. 37).

• 121 This description of the subsistence ecology of !Kung
184 Bushmen therefore concerns the interior !Kung of the central
433 dialect division. It is not to be taken as representative of the !Kung in general, the great majority of whom are today living on European farms or working closely with Bantu.[1] It was pointed out in Chapter I that the selection of a study site was dictated by the necessity of finding a Bushman population living traditionally and independently. It was realized at the outset that such a population was not typical of the majority of !Kung.

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[1] A further stricture must be applied to the !Kung of the interior. In 1960 a Government Station was built at Tsumkwe, S.W.A. Since then the 800 interior !Kung on the South West African side of the border have settled there and are receiving instruction in agriculture. The 400 !Kung on the Bechuanaland side of the border have not been permitted to participate in this program. Therefore, during the period of the present study, only the interior !Kung in Bechuanaland were leading a year-round hunting and gathering way of life.

312
161
563 The waterholes and their respective Bushman and Bantu populations are listed in Table 2.

!Kung group structure

621
166 The definition of the !Kung living arrangements presented the most difficult problem of the field study. The !Kung were found to be living most frequently in camps that numbered from ten to thirty individuals. But the composition of these camps changed from month to month and from day to day.

The task of defining the stable membership units was complicated by the following factors:

1. the frequent shifts of individuals and families from one camp to another,
[574] 2. the high incidence of visiting between camps,
3. the presence of long-term visitors from outside the Dobe area,
4. the Dobe area residents who were living elsewhere on extended visits, and
[563] 5. the intermarriage and co-residence of Bushmen with Bantu.

These complications are in addition to the routine changes in group structure brought about by births, deaths, post-marital residence, and the seasonal subsistence cycle.

It became evident that flexibility is the basic premise
• [121] of !Kung group structure. It would therefore be inappropriate to try to impose a formal model of organization on the data,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

621
166 such as the patrilineal band or composite band models current
121 in the literature (Steward 1955, Sahlins 1959, Service 1962).

121 An account of the situation at one waterhole will serve
621
312 to illustrate some of the dynamic processes at work in !Kung
621 group structure. At Dobe in October, 1963, there were two
312 camps, one with 28 members, the other with ten members. In
166 December, 18 members of the larger camp left on an extended
162
161 visit to Tsumkwe and the remaining ten people made a joint camp with the smaller group to form a camp of twenty people. In January, 1964, these two segments split up and abandoned Dobe altogether. The waterhole remained unoccupied until May, 1964, when the two segments recombined and were joined by 22 other people, who came in from five other camps. This group of 42 people wintered at Dobe in one camp. Then, in August the camp split up into a camp of twelve and a camp of 24. Six of the 22 people who had wintered at Dobe returned to other camps while 16 of these people remained at Dobe. The two Dobe camps (of twelve and 24) remained approximately stable for the remainder of the study (i.e. until January, 1965).

621 Thus at different times of the year the population of
312 Dobe was counted as follows:
161
162

October 1963	38 people in 2 camps
December 1963	20 people in 1 camp
Jan.-April 1964	nil.
May 1964	42 people in 1 camp
Aug. 1964 to Jan. 1965	36 people in 2 camps

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

V. SUBSISTENCE ECOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW OF PLANT AND ANIMAL RESOURCES

121 The concept of a hunting and gathering way of life has assumed a misleading connotation in the ethnographic literature. The term has come to imply a random precarious existence searching for food, an eking out of subsistence [433] of odds and ends. Since the present study is the first detailed analysis of the food habits of non-agricultural people, it should be stated at once that the Bushman subsistence is based on a systematic strategy of exploiting abundant food 222 resources. Very little of their food gathering is left to chance. Their knowledge of the local environment, of the habits of game and the growth phases of food plants is virtually exhaustive. In other words, the Bushmen know where the food is at each season of the year and they arrange their schedule of activities to take maximum advantage of these resources. They do not allow themselves to get into difficult situations, and even during the season of scarcity they have available several alternative strategies of getting food and water.

262 The security of their life is in part due to the fact 137 that the basis of their subsistence is plant foods which are 136 abundant, local and predictable. Meat is of secondary importance in the Bushman diet. Game animals, by contrast to

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

121 433 883 888 182 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social maturity by the young people and the support of the non-productive elderly people are institutions which are possible only in a society with a relatively secure subsistence base.

433 312 221 361 Water, Food, and Nomadism -- The special subsistence problems faced by the Dobe area Bushmen concern the scarcity of water. All of the eight natural permanent waterholes are situated in or near the beds of the main molapos. During the summer months, when temporary pools develop at a distance from permanent water, the Bushmen can move out to live at them. Except for a few weeks each year, the Bushmen spend their entire lives camped within an hour's walk of standing water. Only at the end of the dry season do some of the younger people undertake the long trips to the dry forests where they live by digging out the water-bearing roots. Since it is the custom of the Bushmen to return each evening to their main camps, it follows that areas within a single day's walk of standing water will be intensively utilized. Areas that lie beyond this radius will be rarely utilized even though they may be rich in food. The fact that the Bushmen can live well for most of the year within a six-mile radius of permanent water indicates that they do not lead a nomadic way of life. Each summer they move up-country to the seasonal waters and each winter they fall back on their permanent waterholes. In contrast to some Australian aboriginal groups, whose annual round consists of walking a circuit of many waterholes, the Dobe area Bushmen have a

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

superior to those of the other native peoples that they have been able to preserve much of their original cohesion and culture, and in many cases to offer a strong resistance to the disintegrating effects of contact with European civilization.

The present work deals with those two groups of natives who have suffered most at the hands of the European settlers: the Bushmen and the Hottentots. In spite of the far-reaching differences between them, they have in common several features, not only of race and language, but also of culture, especially religion, which justify their being treated together. These common features by no means render invalid the distinctions upon which is based the customary classification of these peoples into two separate groups. They are significant enough, however, to permit of both groups being regarded as constituting to some extent a larger ethnic unit, which, it is important to note, is clearly differentiated from the Bergdama on the one hand and the Bantu on the other. The term *Khoisan*, recently coined by Schultze to denote the racial stock to which the Bushmen and the Hottentots belong,[1] has therefore been accepted here as a convenient generic name for these two peoples. The necessity for such a generic name will perhaps be seen more clearly when the racial history of each people has been considered.

Topography: General Features

The Khoisan peoples at the present time live almost entirely in the western and central portions of South Africa. The main political areas within whose borders they are found are the Territory of South-West Africa, formerly a German colony, but now administered under mandate by the Union of South Africa; Bechuanaland Protectorate, administered directly by Great Britain through the High Commissioner for South Africa; and the central and western districts of the Union, principally in the Cape of Good Hope. The Bushmen formerly extended further east into Southern Rhodesia and over the rest of the Union, but have virtually disappeared from those parts.

The territory over which the two peoples are now scattered presents a solid land mass, covering an area of approximately 915,000 square

[1] L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, p. 211. The term is compounded of the names *Khoi-Khoin*, by which the Hottentots call themselves, and *San*, applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen. The latter have no collective name of their own.